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DRAFTED BY: AF/C: MLTHOMAS

APPROVED BY: AF/C: AXRENDER

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O 120012Z MAY 94
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 125851

FOR ATTENTION OF DUTY OFFICER

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: AMGT

SUBJECT: OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

PLEASE PASS TO AF A/S MOOSE AND TO AF/C DESK OFFICER
MCCULLEY

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. THE FOLLOWING ARE THE MEMORANDA REQUESTED BY AF/C
OFFICER TERENCE MCCULLEY.

MAY 10, 1994

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DECL: OADR

TO: AF - MR. MOOSE

THROUGH: AF - MS. BUSHNELL

FROM: AF/C - ARLENE RENDER

SUBJECT: RWANDA/BURUNDI BACKGROUND/POINTS FOR MAY 13
TRILATERAL IN BRUSSELS

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I. PARTICIPANTS AND PURPOSE

YOU WILL MEET ON MAY 13 IN BRUSSELS WITH THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS TO DISCUSS ZAIRE, RWANDA, AND BURUNDI. BELGIAN MFA CHEF DE CABINET LODE WILLEMS WILL LEAD THE BELGIAN SIDE; JEAN-MARC DE LA SABLIERE, YOUR FRENCH COUNTERPART, WILL HEAD THE FRENCH DELEGATION. DE LA SABLIERE WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY NATHALIE LOISEAU DUCOULOMBIER, THE AFRICAN AFFAIRS AIDE TO FM JUPPE. FROM EMBASSY BRUSSELS, DCM LANGE SCHERMERHORN WILL ATTEND, AS WELL AS AFRICA WATCHER JEANETTE DUBROW. OTHERS ON THE U.S. SIDE INCLUDE AMB. DAVID RAWSON, HOWARD PERLOW, AND TERRY MCCULLEY.

ON RWANDA, THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS SHOULD BE ASKED FOR THEIR ASSESSMENTS OF THE CRISIS AND WHERE THEY THINK IT IS HEADED. WE SHOULD REVIEW EFFORTS TO STOP THE KILLINGS AND ACHIEVE A CEASE-FIRE AND SHOULD URGE THEM TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE IN RWANDA TO PUSH THESE TWO KEY GOALS. WE SHOULD GIVE THEM A READ-OUT ON THE SHATTUCK TRIP AND GET THEIR THOUGHTS ON AN ENHANCED INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE

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OF SOME KIND. WE WANT TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO BE AS GENEROUS AS POSSIBLE WITH HUMANITARIAN AID. OUR GOALS FOR THE UPCOMING SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SHOULD ALSO BE DISCUSSED.

ON BURUNDI, WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS TO STAY ACTIVELY ENGAGED, THROUGH HIGH-LEVEL VISITS, REGULAR PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS, AND OTHER MEANS TO SHOW THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS CONCERNED, AND IS WATCHING TO MAKE SURE THE VIOLENCE DOES NOT ERUPT AGAIN. WE SHOULD GET THEIR THOUGHTS ON THE LIKELIHOOD OF VIOLENCE FROM RWANDA SPREADING TO BURUNDI, AND WHAT REACTION BURUNDI MIGHT HAVE TO AN ENHANCED INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE IN RWANDA, PARTICULARLY IF DEPLOYED THROUGH OR NEAR BURUNDI. THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS SHOULD BE PROBED FOR THEIR VIEWS ON THE OAU MISSION AND ON PROSPECTS AND POSSIBILITIES FOR IMPROVING CIVIL/MILITARY RELATIONS IN BURUNDI.

II. POINTS

RWANDA

SITUATION ON THE GROUND/PROGNOSIS

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-- EVEN IF THE RPF MANAGES TO DEFEAT GOVERNMENT FORCES ON THE BATTLEFIELD, THEY CANNOT RULE THE COUNTRY ALONE AND WOULD HAVE TO PURSUE SOME FORM OF POWER-SHARING. THUS, WE BELIEVE SOME NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IS PROBABLY INEVITABLE.

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-- HOW DO YOU SEE THE SITUATION DEVELOPING? WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT THE LEADERS OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND WHAT FUTURE DO YOU SEE FOR IT? IS AN RPF MILITARY VICTORY POSSIBLE? WHAT PROSPECTS DO YOU SEE FOR A CEASE-FIRE?

STOPPING THE KILLING/ACHIEVING A CEASE-FIRE

-- WE HAVE USED BOTH HIGH-LEVEL PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND DIRECT DEMARCHES TO THE GOR, ITS MILITARY LEADERS, AND THE RPF, IN AN EFFORT TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT/MILITARY TO STOP THE KILLINGS AND THE RPF TO AGREE TO A CEASE-FIRE.

-- WE WANT TO CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH BELGIUM AND FRANCE TO PRESSURE THE PARTIES. WE URGE YOU TO USE YOUR INFLUENCE IN RWANDA TO MAKE SIMILAR DEMARCHES AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS.

-- THE EU HAS EXPRESSED A DESIRE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE U.S. TO END THE VIOLENCE IN RWANDA. WE WELCOME THE INTEREST AND WANT TO COORDINATE OUR EFFORTS THROUGH FRANCE AND BELGIUM. DO YOU FORESEE A SEPARATE EU INITIATIVE?

-- WHAT ROLE DO YOU SEE FOR MOBUTU? WHILE WE RECOGNIZE THAT HE MAY BE IN A POSITION TO HELP PUSH THE TWO SIDES TO A CEASE-FIRE, WE ARE CONCERNED THAT HE WILL USE HIS ROLE IN RWANDA TO "REHABILITATE" HIS IMAGE, AND MIGHT GET IN THE WAY OF THE TANZANIAN FACILITATOR'S ROLE, WHICH WE SUPPORT.

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PROSPECTS FOR ARUSHA

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-- THE TANZANIANS TOLD US THEY WERE DISAPPOINTED BUT NOT DISCOURAGED BY THE LACK OF AGREEMENT AT ARUSHA MAY 3-5. DO YOU BELIEVE THE ARUSHA FRAMEWORK AND THE ARUSHA AGREEMENT ARE STILL VALID BASES FOR SOLVING THE RWANDA PROBLEM?

-- WE BELIEVE SOME FORM OF POWER-SHARING IS INEVITABLE AND CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE ARUSHA FRAMEWORK IS VIABLE. THE PARTIES SHOULD TRY TO PRESERVE AS MUCH OF THE ACCORD AS POSSIBLE, TO PREVENT UNRAVELING THE WHOLE PROCESS.

THE SHATTUCK TRIP

-- THE SHATTUCK TRIP WAS A SUCCESS. IT RAISED THE LEVEL OF ATTENTION TO THE PROBLEM AND SHOWED LEADERS IN THE REGION THAT WE INTENDED TO HELP AND WOULD NOT ABANDON RWANDA.

-- THE TRIP REVEALED A GENERAL CONSENSUS AMONG REGIONAL LEADERS IN FAVOR OF AN ENHANCED UN PRESENCE TO FACILITATE RELIEF EFFORTS AND PROTECT THREATENED CIVILIANS. SOME FORM OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INQUIRY WAS WIDELY FAVORED.

UNAMIR/INTERNATIONAL FORCE

-- WE ARE AWAITING THE UN SYG'S FORMAL CONTINGENCY
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PLANNING FOR DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN AID IN RWANDA.

-- WE UNDERSTAND GENERAL DALLAIRE PREFERS A 5000 - 8000-MAN UN FORCE THAT WOULD FAN OUT FROM KIGALI TO OPEN HUMANITARIAN AID CORRIDORS AND PROTECT THREATENED CIVILIAN ENCLAVES.

-- WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN EXPLORING THE POSSIBILITY OF CREATING A PROTECTIVE ZONE ALONG THE RWANDA BORDER WITH AN INTERNATIONAL FORCE TO PROVIDE SECURITY TO POPULATIONS WHERE REFUGEES/DISPLACED ARE IN THE MOST IMMEDIATE DANGER.

-- WE HAVE SERIOUS RESERVATIONS ABOUT PROPOSALS TO ESTABLISH A LARGE PEACE ENFORCEMENT MISSION, WHICH WOULD OPERATE THROUGHOUT RWANDA WITH A MANDATE TO END THE

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FIGHTING, RESTORE LAW AND ORDER, AND PACIFY THE
POPULATION.

-- WE WOULD BE INTERESTED TO HEAR YOUR VIEWS ON THIS
SUBJECT.

HUMANITARIAN AID EFFORTS

-- THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY CONTRIBUTED
APPROXIMATELY 28 MILLION TO THE RELIEF EFFORT IN
BURUNDI. IN RESPONSE TO THE RWANDA CRISIS, WE HAVE
APPROVED 15 MILLION IN ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR NEW RELIEF
EFFORTS IN THE AREA AND HAS SET ASIDE AN ADDITIONAL 13
MILLION IN FOOD COMMODITIES.

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-- WE KNOW YOU ARE MAKING SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS
BILATERALLY AND THROUGH THE EU AND WE WELCOME WHATEVER
ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS YOU CAN PROVIDE.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION/INVESTIGATION

-- WE SUPPORT THE SPECIAL SESSION OF UNHRC AND ARE
URGING SUPPORT FROM OTHER MEMBERS

-- WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE SESSION INCLUDE: A
CONDEMNATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN RWANDA
APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR, AND STATIONING OF
HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS IN RWANDA AS SOON AS PRACTICABLE.

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EFFECT OF RWANDA PKO ON BURUNDI

-- THE INTERIM PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER KANYENKIKO TOLD A/S SHATTUCK THAT AN EXPANDED UN HUMANITARIAN AND REFUGEE/DISPLACED-PROTECTION MISSION IN RWANDA IS ESSENTIAL, BUT CAUTIONED AGAINST THE DESTABILIZING EFFECT OF A PEACEMAKING INTERVENTION FORCE IN RWANDA.

-- WE WOULD BE INTERESTED TO HEAR YOUR THOUGHTS ON HOW GREATER INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION IN RWANDA MIGHT AFFECT BURUNDI, PARTICULARLY IF THE EFFORT IS DEPLOYED THROUGH OR NEAR BURUNDI.

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III. BACKGROUND

RWANDA BACKGROUND

SITUATION ON GROUND

BOTH THE FIGHTING AND THE KILLING OF CIVILIANS CONTINUE. THE RPF NOW CONTROLS MUCH OF THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN PORTIONS OF THE COUNTRY AND A FIERCE BATTLE HAS BEEN

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RAGING OVER CONTROL OF KIGALI. UNAMIR NUMBERS ABOUT 450 MEN, DOWN FROM THE PRE-CRISIS LEVEL OF 2500 BUT ABOVE THE FLOOR LEVEL OF 270 AUTHORIZED IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S RESOLUTION WHICH APPROVED WITHDRAWAL OF THE BULK OF THE FORCES. A CONTINGENT OF UN TROOPS IS DEPLOYED AT THE AIRPORT, WITH GOVERNMENT FORCES DUG IN AROUND THEM. CROSS-FIRE HAS MADE IT DIFFICULT TO BRING IN RELIEF FLIGHTS.

STATUS OF CEASE-FIRE TALKS

ON MAY 3, THE GOR AND THE RPF SENT DELEGATIONS TO ATTEND TALKS IN ARUSHA, BUT THE TALKS BROKE DOWN TWO DAYS LATER WHEN THE RPF REFUSED TO SIGN A CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT BECAUSE A SIMILAR DOCUMENT WAS TO BE SIGNED BY THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, WHOSE LEGITIMACY THE RPF DOES NOT ACCEPT. THE RPF WANTS INSTEAD TO TALK DIRECTLY WITH THE RWANDAN MILITARY COMMAND. THERE HAVE BEEN SUBSEQUENT REPORTS THAT THE RPF TACITLY AGREED TO A CEASE-FIRE, BUT SIMPLY REFUSED TO SIGN THE DOCUMENT PREPARED AT ARUSHA. RPF REPRESENTATIVES MAY ALSO HAVE SIGNED A MOBUTU-SPONSORED CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT IN ZAIRE, TWO WEEKS AFTER THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT SIGNED A SIMILAR DOCUMENT. HOWEVER, THE STATUS OF THESE AGREEMENTS REMAINS UNCLEAR. WITH THE RECESSING OF THE ARUSHA TALKS, THE EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE A CEASE-FIRE HAS MOVED TO KIGALI, WHERE UN COMMANDER DALLAIRE IS TRYING TO BRING THE TWO SIDES TOGETHER AT THE MILITARY COMMAND LEVEL.

THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS

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THE VIOLENCE HAS LEFT AT LEAST 100,000 DEAD. AS MANY AS ONE MILLION PERSONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY MAY HAVE BEEN DISPLACED BY THE CONFLICT. FROM WHAT WE UNDERSTAND, THE MOST THREATENED POPULATIONS ARE IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE COUNTRY, BEHIND GOVERNMENT LINES, FROM KIGALI TO THE BURUNDI BORDER. THERE ARE SMALL ENCLAVES OF THREATENED GROUPS GATHERED (TRAPPED) IN PLACES OF REFUGE IN KIGALI AND OTHER AREAS OF RWANDA, ABOVE ALL BEHIND GOVERNMENT LINES IN THE SOUTH AND WEST. THESE PEOPLE HAVE SOUGHT REFUGE IN STADIUMS, HOTELS, CHURCHES, AND OTHER DISCRETE LOCATIONS AND CANNOT LEAVE PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF ROAD BLOCKS AND MARAUDING GANGS OF IRREGULAR (HUTU) MILITIA. OVER 300,000 RWANDANS HAVE FLED TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. CURRENT ESTIMATES AND LOCATIONS OF REFUGEES ARE:

TANZANIA	(NGARA, KARAGWE)	250,000
BURUNDI	(NORTH)	50,000
ZAIRE	(GOMA, BUKAVU)	8,500
UGANDA	(SOUTHWEST)	5,500

THESE REFUGEES DO NOT FACE ANY IMMEDIATE THREAT TO THEIR SECURITY. ALTHOUGH THERE WERE REPORTS OF LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE TRAPPED ON THE RWANDA SIDE OF THE BORDER IN LATE APRIL, IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER SUCH MASS GROUPINGS STILL EXIST.

THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY CONTRIBUTED ROUGHLY 28 MILLION IN FOOD, RELIEF ITEMS, AND EARMARKED FUNDS TO ORGANIZATIONS ASSISTING BURUNDI REFUGEES AND PERSONS DISPLACED FOLLOWING LAST OCTOBER'S COUP ATTEMPT. IN

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RESPONSE TO THE RWANDA CRISIS, THE ADMINISTRATION APPROVED 15 MILLION IN ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR NEW RELIEF EFFORTS IN THE AREA AND HAS SET ASIDE AN ADDITIONAL 13 MILLION IN FOOD COMMODITIES FOR THAT PURPOSE. DOD HAS APPROVED AN AIRLIFT OF UNHCR RELIEF SUPPLIES TO TANZANIA, WHICH IS EXPECTED TO BEGIN MAY 11.

INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION FORCE

UN CONTINGENCY PLANNING. THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL ASKED BOUTROS GHALI TO PROVIDE CONTINGENCY PLANNING FOR DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN AID FOR RWANDA. THE COUNCIL AGREED TO HOLD OFF ON DISCUSSIONS OF ANY DRAFT RESOLUTIONS OF A POSSIBLE EXPANDED UN PRESENCE UNTIL THE

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SYG SENDS HIS RESPONSE, WHICH IS NOT EXPECTED BEFORE THE END OF THIS WEEK. BOUTROS GHALI HAS CALLED FOR AN AFRICAN FORCE, BUT THE OAU AND REGIONAL LEADERS WANT A UN-LED OPERATION. NIGERIA HAS OFFERED A BATTALION, OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES ARE APPARENTLY WILLING TO SUPPLY TROOPS, AND DALLAIRE BELIEVES AUSTRALIA MAY BE WILLING TO PROVIDE AT LEAST 1,000 TROOPS TO UNAMIR. IN HIS TRIP TO THE REGION, HA A/S SHATTUCK FOUND GENERAL SUPPORT FOR AN ENHANCED UNAMIR PRESENCE TO MONITOR ANY CEASE-FIRE AND PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

GOVERNMENT/RPF VIEWS. RWANDAN GOVERNMENT FORCES HAVE BEEN IN RETREAT, AND THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOULD SUPPORT ALMOST ANY FORM OF INTERVENTION. THE RPF OPPOSES ANY INTERPOSITIONAL FORCE OR PEACEMAKING OPERATION DESIGNED TO IMPOSE A CEASE-FIRE IN THE CONVENTIONAL WAR. HOWEVER, THEY HAVE SAID THEY WOULD SUPPORT AN INTERVENTION

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DESIGNED TO DELIVER HUMANITARIAN AID AND PROTECT
CIVILIANS THREATENED BY THE THUGGERY.

DALLAIRE PROPOSAL. UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE HAS INDICATED INFORMALLY THAT HE WOULD LIKE A FORCE OF 5,000 TO 8,000 TROOPS, WITH A MANDATE TO USE FORCE AS NECESSARY TO ASSURE DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND TO PROTECT PERSONS IN THREATENED ENCLAVES. THE FORCE WOULD BE EXPECTED TO BREAK THROUGH ROADBLOCKS MANNED BY HOODLUMS AND DISARM ROVING GANGS, WHO ARE OFTEN UNTRAINED YOUTHS ARMED ONLY WITH MACHETES. THE FORCE WOULD NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN TRYING TO STOP OR SOMEHOW PROTECT THE GENERAL POPULATION FROM THE CONVENTIONAL WAR BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND RPF FORCES, WHICH IS CAUSING FAR FEWER CASUALTIES THAN THE MARAUDING GANGS AND MILITIAS. INITIAL PLANS PROVIDE FOR THE FORCE TO BE STAGED OUT OF KIGALI. FIGHTING CONTINUES IN KIGALI AND THE AIRPORT REMAINS UNSECURE, MAKING MOVEMENT OF TROOPS AND SUPPLIES BY AIR DIFFICULT. DALLAIRE BELIEVES THIS MISSION CAN BE DONE UNDER CHAPTER VI AUTHORITY.

U.S. POSITION. THE U.S. IS EXAMINING SEVERAL OPTIONS, INCLUDING IN PARTICULAR A MILITARY OPERATION TO ESTABLISH SECURE ZONES NEAR THE BORDERS IN RWANDA FOR THE PROTECTION OF PERSONS AT RISK AND FOR THE DELIVERY OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF. UNDER THIS OPTION, HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE WOULD BE STORED IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND TRANSPORTED INTO THE SECURE ZONES. THE FORCES WOULD BE

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DEPLOYED OUTSIDE THE IMMEDIATE WAR ZONE, MAKING
OPERATIONS AND LOGISTICS LESS DIFFICULT. THE MISSION
WOULD DEFEND THE ZONES' PERIMETERS AGAINST INCURSIONS
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AND, WITHIN THE ZONES, ENFORCE SECURITY, DISARM CIVILIANS
AND ESCORT HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE SHIPMENTS. INITIAL
INFORMATION WOULD SUGGEST CREATING ZONES NEAR THE
SOUTHERN BORDER, SINCE THE MOST THREATENED POPULATIONS
SEEM TO BE IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE COUNTRY, BEHIND
GOVERNMENT LINES, FROM KIGALI TO THE BURUNDI BORDER. THE
PROTECTED ZONES CREATED WOULD NOT ENCOMPASS ENCLAVES OF
THREATENED PERSONS IN KIGALI OR OTHER AREAS IN THE
INTERIOR. THE SIZE OF THE FORCE COULD RANGE FROM 5,000
(FOR ONE TO TWO ZONES) TO 15,000 (FOR TWO TO FOUR ZONES).

SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS. THE NAM AND NEW ZEALAND
HAVE BOTH CIRCULATED DRAFT RESOLUTIONS THAT CALL FOR A
CHAPTER VII UN OPERATION. THE NAM DRAFT WOULD GIVE THE
FORCE THE MANDATE TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER IN RWANDA AND
ESTABLISH A SECURE ENVIRONMENT FOR RELIEF EFFORTS. THE
NEW ZEALAND DRAFT WOULD HAVE THE FORCE PROTECT RELIEF
OPERATIONS AND CREATE WEAPONS-FREE ZONES IN WHICH THE UN
WOULD PROTECT CIVILIANS.

THE BURUNDI FACTOR. THE BURUNDI INTERIM PRESIDENT
SUPPORTS GREATER UN ACTION IN RWANDA. HOWEVER, ANY
OPERATION IN RWANDA WHICH WOULD REQUIRE DEPLOYMENT
THROUGH BUJUMBURA OR INTO NORTHERN BURUNDI COULD MEET
WITH STRONG RESISTANCE FROM THE BURUNDI MILITARY, MIGHT
DRAW BURUNDI INTO THE CONFLICT, AND COULD DESTABILIZE
BURUNDI.

THE UNHRC SPECIAL SESSION

ON MAY 9, CANADA CALLED FOR A SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UN
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HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (UNHRC) ON RWANDA. UNHCR
COMMISSIONER JOSE AYALA LASSO IS NOW VISITING THE REGION
AND IS PLANNING TO GO TO RWANDA. HE WILL REPORT THE
RESULTS OF HIS TRIP TO THE SPECIAL SESSION (IF ONE IS
CALLED). A MINIMUM OF 27 MEMBER STATES OF THE UNHRC MUST
AGREE FOR THE SESSION TO BE HELD. THE DEADLINE FOR

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NATIONS TO RESPOND TO CANADA'S REQUEST IS MAY 16. A SPECIAL SESSION WOULD LAST ONE OR TWO DAYS, AND WOULD PROBABLY BEGIN ON MAY 20 OR MAY 24. THE FRENCH HAVE ASSURED US OF THEIR FULL SUPPORT FOR THE SESSION.

BURUNDI BACKGROUND

DESPITE THE RELATIVE CALM IN BURUNDI, THE COUNTRY REMAINS UNSTABLE AND HIGHLY POLARIZED ALONG ETHNIC LINES. BURUNDI ONCE AGAIN FACES THE QUESTION OF PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT NTARYAMIRA IN THE APRIL 6 PLANE CRASH IN RWANDA. THE INTERIM PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SPEAKER SYLVESTRE NTIBANTUNGANYA FROM THE MAJORITY (HUTU-DOMINATED) FRODEBU PARTY, HAS SO FAR WORKED WELL WITH THE TUTSI-LED MILITARY. HOWEVER, THE METHOD FOR ELECTING A PERMANENT SUCCESSOR REMAINS MIREN IN LEGAL WRANGLING. UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AHMEDOU ABDALLAH HELPED THE BURUNDIANS REACH A CONSENSUS ON FILLING THE NDADAYE VACANCY IN JANUARY/FEBRUARY AND IS WORKING ONCE AGAIN ON THE SUCCESSION ISSUE. THE "COHABITATION" CABINET (WITH A MODERATE OPPOSITION PRIME MINISTER) CONTAINS EXTREMISTS FROM BOTH THE FRODEBU PARTY AND THE TUTSI OPPOSITION.

THE MILITARY REMAINS LARGELY OUTSIDE GOVERNMENT CONTROL.
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ALTHOUGH THE HIGH COMMAND PROFESSES ITS LOYALTY, THEY ARE EITHER UNWILLING OR INCAPABLE OF CONTROLLING THE EXTREMISTS AMONG THE RANKS. THIRTEEN FRENCH GENDARMES ARE HELPING TO TRAIN A NEW 1100-MAN PRESIDENTIAL GUARD. THE APRIL 24/25 ABORTED COUP ATTEMPT CONFIRMS THAT DANGEROUS DISLOYAL ELEMENTS REMAIN. SMALL OPPOSITION EXTREMIST GROUPS ARE PROBABLY STIRRING DISCONTENT AMONG THE RANKS TO STRENGTHEN THEIR OWN POSITION. ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE SPECTRUM, HUTU EXTREMISTS IN FRODEBU ARE FOMENTING TROUBLE AMONG THEIR CIVILIAN SUPPORTERS, MANY OF WHOM ARE STOCKPILING ARMS, PROBABLY WITH THE HELP OF FRODEBU OFFICIALS.

THE COMBINATION OF A LARGELY IMPOTENT GOVERNMENT, AN UNDISCIPLINED MILITARY, AND A HEAVILY ARMED CIVILIAN POPULATION HAS LED TO REPEATED VIOLENT INTER-ETHNIC CLASHES, PARTICULARLY IN THE HIGHLY POLARIZED SUBURBS OF BUJUMBURA. A MODICUM OF ORDER RETURNED AFTER THE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS APPEALED FOR CALM AND MADE IT A POINT TO VISIT THE TROUBLED AREAS; HOWEVER, SPORADIC

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VIOLENCE CONTINUES, AND THE LIKELIHOOD OF SERIOUS CLASHES AND CONTINUED INSTABILITY REMAINS HIGH. THE BROAD-BASED NATIONAL CRISIS COMMITTEE ORDERED A MAJOR MILITARY OPERATION ON THE NIGHT OF APRIL 28/29 TO DISARM CIVILIANS IN KAMENGE QUARTIER. OVER ONE HUNDRED PERSONS WERE TAKEN IN FOR QUESTIONING AND 20-25 CIVILIANS KILLED (FAR LESS AT LEAST THAN THE SEVERAL HUNDRED WHO DIED IN MARCH IN SIMILAR OPERATIONS).

THE HORRIFIC EVENTS IN RWANDA ONLY MAKE RECONCILIATION IN BURUNDI MORE DIFFICULT. THE TWO COUNTRIES SHARE A

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SIMILAR HUTU/TUTSI ETHNIC MIX, AND ETHNIC VIOLENCE IN ONE COUNTRY CAN EASILY INFLAME PASSIONS IN THE OTHER. ALTHOUGH THE NUMBER OF RWANDAN REFUGEES ARRIVING IN BURUNDI HAS SO FAR BEEN MANAGEABLE (ABOUT 50,000), THE POSSIBILITY OF DESTABILIZING WAVES OF REFUGEES INTO BURUNDI REMAINS A SERIOUS CONCERN.

SO FAR, WE HAVE PROVIDED ABOUT 28 MILLION IN RELIEF TO REFUGEES AND DISPLACED. OUR FY-94 DEVELOPMENT AID BUDGET IS 8 MILLION, AND ONE-QUARTER TO ONE-HALF OF THIS TOTAL MAY BE USED FOR DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE ASSISTANCE. OUR MODEST MILITARY TRAINING PROGRAM WAS SUSPENDED AFTER LAST OCTOBER'S COUP ATTEMPT. WE CURRENTLY HAVE NO IMET FUNDS FOR FY-94, BUT ARE IN THE PROCESS OF REQUESTING 35,000 TO SEND MILITARY PARTICIPANTS TO A SEMINAR ON DEMOCRACY TO BE HELD IN NAIROBI.

MAY 9, 1994

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DECL: OADR

TO: AF - MR. MOOSE

THROUGH: AF/FO - EDWARD P. BRYNN

FROM: AF/C - ARLENE RENDER

SUBJECT: MAY 13 TRILATERALS ON ZAIRE IN BRUSSELS -
WHAT WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE

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YOU WILL MEET ON MAY 13 IN BRUSSELS WITH THE FRENCH AND
BELGIANS TO DISCUSS ZAIRE, RWANDA, AND BURUNDI. BELGIAN
MFA CHEF DE CABINET LODE WILLEMS WILL LEAD THE BELGIAN
SIDE; JEAN-MARC DE LA SABLIERE, YOUR FRENCH COUNTERPART,
WILL HEAD THE FRENCH DELEGATION. DE LA SABLIERE WILL BE
ACCOMPANIED BY NATHALIE LOISEAU DUCOULOMBIER, THE AFRICAN
AFFAIRS AIDE TO FM JUPPE. FROM EMBASSY BRUSSELS, DCM
LANGE SCHERMERHORN WILL ATTEND, AS WILL AFRICA WATCHER
JEANETTE DUBROW. OTHERS ON THE U.S. SIDE INCLUDE AMB.
DAVID RAWSON, HOWARD PERLOW, AND TERRY MCCULLEY.

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TO: AF - MR. MOOSE

THROUGH: AF/FO - PRUDENCE BUSHNELL

FROM: AF/C - ARLENE RENDER

SUBJECT: BREAKFAST MEETING WITH BELGIAN FM WILLY CLAES,
BRUSSELS, MAY 13, BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY

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IN A "PREQUEL" TO THE BRUSSELS TRILATERAL MEETINGS ON ZAIRE, RWANDA, AND BURUNDI, BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER WILLY CLAES HAS INVITED YOU TO A BREAKFAST MEETING AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. CLAES WILL LIKELY BE ACCOMPANIED BY LODE WILLEMS, HIS CHEF DE CABINET. AMBASSADORS BLINKEN AND RAWSON WILL ATTEND, AND TERRY MCCULLEY WILL ACT AS NOTETAKER.

CLAES, WHO DEPARTS FOR GENEVA FOLLOWING THE BREAKFAST FOR AN EU MEETING ON BOSNIA, SHOULD BE WELL-BRIEFED ON U.S. VIEWS AND INITIATIVES IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI. IN ADDITION TO YOUR TWO RECENT MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON WITH BELGIAN AMBASSADOR CASSIERS, AMBASSADOR RAWSON HAS HAD AN EXTENSIVE ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS ON THE RWANDA/BURUNDI SITUATION AT THE BELGIAN MFA AND MINISTRY OF

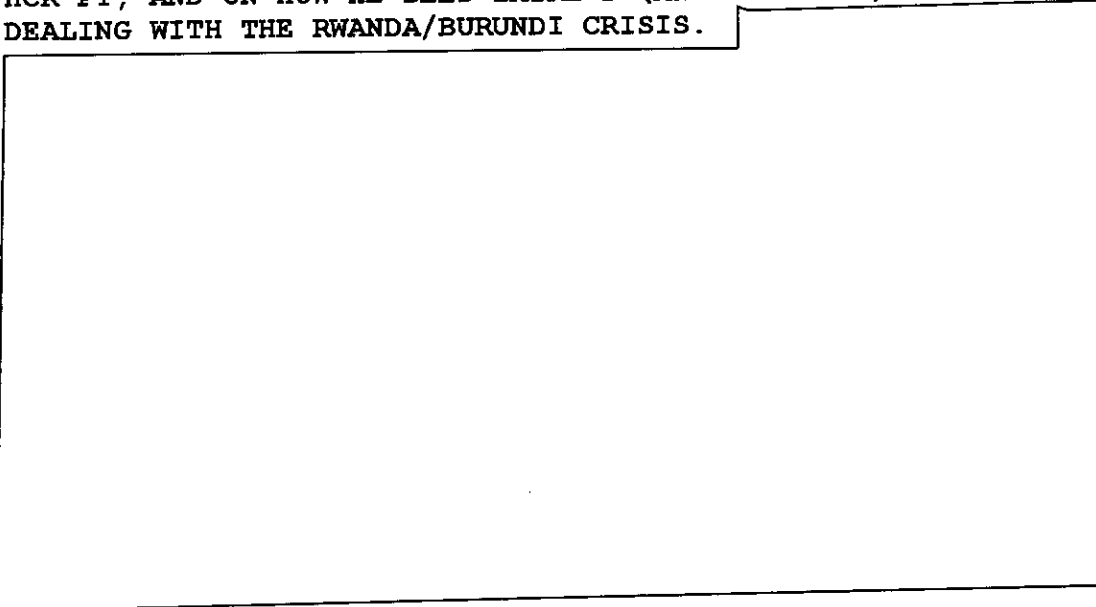
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COOPERATION. RAWSON ALSO BRIEFED THE BELGIANS ON THE SHATTUCK MISSION. YOU MAY WISH TO ASK DAVID TO BRIEF CLAES ON THE SHATTUCK TRIP AND ON THE LATEST ON RWANDA AND BURUNDI. CLAES WILL LIKELY ALSO BE INTERESTED IN YOUR TRIP WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT TO SOUTH AFRICA.

ALTHOUGH SPECIFICS MIGHT BEST BE LEFT FOR THE TRILATERAL MEETING LATER IN THE MORNING, IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL TO QUERY CLAES ON BELGIAN VIEWS OF THE LEGITIMACY OF THE HCR-PT, AND ON HOW HE SEES ZAIRE'S (AND MOBUTU'S) ROLE IN DEALING WITH THE RWANDA/BURUNDI CRISIS.

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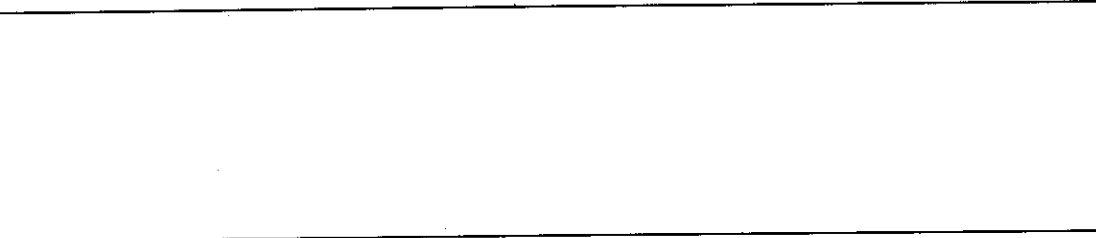


TALKING POINTS

-- EXPRESS CONDOLENCES OVER THE DEATH OF THE BELGIAN PEACEKEEPERS.

-- NOTE THE IMPORTANCE OF BELGIUM'S CONTINUED ENGAGEMENT IN THE REGION, AND IN PARTICULAR, AS A STABILIZING INFLUENCE IN BURUNDI. ASK FOR CLAES' VIEWS ON BELGIAN POLICY VIS-A-VIS RWANDA AND BURUNDI.

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-- ASK FOR THE GOB'S VIEW ON MOBUTU'S ROLE (IF ANY) IN ADDRESSING THE ONGOING CRISES IN RWANDA AND BURUNDI.

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